

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 097704

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ORIGIN SS-10

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 FILE-01 /012 R

66602

DRAFTED BY: S/ S- O: JMEALUM

APPROVED BY: S/ S- O: JMEALUM

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O 221535 Z MAY 73 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 097704

EXDIS TOSEC 232

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE, INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS,
HELSINKI, MOSCOW, VIENNA, MAY 21, FROM NATO RPTD TO YOU:

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 2491

EXDIS

HELSINKI FOR USDEL MPT

PARIS FOR SONNENFELDT

VIENNA FOR USDEL MIT

DEPT PLEASE PASS SECDEF

E. O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-79

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJ: REPORT TO ALLIES ON BREZHNEV- KISSINGER DISCUSSIONS

1. AT MAY 21 NAC, AMBASSADOR RUMSFELD REPORT TO ALLIES ON
DR. KISSINGER' S RECENT DISCUSSIONS IN MOSCOW. SEE SEPTTEL

FOR ALLIES' REACTIONS.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 097704

2. FULL TEXT OF AMBASSADOR' S STATEMENT FOLLOWS:

BEGIN

1. ORIGIN OF TRIP

- THE PURPOSE OF DR. KISSINGER' S TRIP WAS TO REVIEW THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS SINCE THE LAST SUMMIT, TO SKETCH OUT IDEAS OF BREZHNEV' S US VISIT, AND TO REVIEW POSSIBLE TOPICS ON WHICH THERE MIGHT BE ADDITIONAL PROGRESS OR AGREEMENTS.

2. THE MEETINGS WITH BREZHNEV

- AS INDICATED BY THE ANNOUNCEMENT AFTER KISSINGER' S VISIT, THE TALKS LASTED FROM MAY 4-9 (ACTUALLY MAY 5-8, LEAVING OUT WELCOME AND FAREWELL); THEY INVOLVED SOME 25 HOURS OF DISCUSSIONS AND THEY TOOK PLACE ENTIRELY AT A POLITBURO COUNTRY ESTATE NORTH OF MOSCOW. SOVIET PARTICIPANTS, IN ADDITION TO BREZHNEV, INCLUDED GROMYKO, AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN, BREZHNEV' S ASSISTANT ALEKSANDROV AND THE FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICAL RESPONSIBLE FOR US AFFAIRS, KORNIYENKO. THE 25 HOURS NOTED ABOVE INCLUDED INFORMAL AND UNSTRUCTURED GENERAL CONVERSATION DURING HUNTING AND BOATING TRIPS AND A DINNER.

- ONE OF THE MATTERS DISCUSSED WAS THE TEXT AND TIMING OF THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF BREZHNEV' S VISIT TO THE US AND THIS HAS MEANWHILE BEEN MADE PUBLIC;

- AS EXPECTED, A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF TIME WAS SPENT ON POSSIBLE POINTS IN MR. BREZHNEV' S PROGRAM IN THE US.

- THERE WAS AN EXTENDED REVIEW OF THE VARIOUS FIELDS OF BILATERAL COOPERATION ON WHICH AGREEMENTS WERE SIGNED LAST YEAR AND A DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL AGREEMENTS THAT MIGHT BE CONCLUDED THIS YEAR. THE PROGRESS OF COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WAS DISCUSSED BUT WE DO NOT ENVISAGE SIGNIFICANT NEW FORMAL AGREEMENTS IN THIS AREA SINCE THE TRADE AGREEMENT OF LAST YEAR STILL AWAITS FORMAL ENTRY INTO FORCE PENDING ACTION BY OUR CONGRESS ON THE EXTENSION OF MFN TREATMENT.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 097704

AS REGARDS POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS ON BILATERAL COOPERATION, WE WILL LET THE COUNCIL KNOW IF AND WHEN IT BECOMES CLEARER WHAT MIGHT BE EXPECTED IN THE COURSE OF THE BREZHNEV VISIT.

3. MATTERS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO THE NAC

(1) SALT. DR. KISSINGER REVIEWED US IDEAS ON THIS MATTER IN A GENERAL WAY. AMBASSADOR JOHNSON HAS SINCE MADE HIS MORE SPECIFIC PRESENTATION IN THE COUNCIL, AND SUBSEQUENTLY IN GENEVA. MR. BREZHNEV WAS NOT PREPARED TO PROVIDE ANY SPECIFIC SOVIET REACTION AND WE WILL AWAIT INDICATIONS OF SOVIET VIEWS AT GENEVA. IT APPEARS, ON PRESENT EVIDENCE, THAT THE SOVIETS ARE DISINCLINED TO SEEK ANY CONCRETE SALT

AGREEMENTS DURING MR. BREZHNEV'S VISIT. THE POSSIBILITY OF A MORE GENERAL UNDERSTANDING ON THE PRINCIPLES THAT MIGHT GOVERN A PERMANENT AGREEMENT CANNOT BE EXCLUDED. THE COUNCIL WILL OF COURSE BE KEPT INFORMED OF ANY PROGRESS IN THIS RESPECT. ALTHOUGH THE DISCUSSION OF SALT OCCUPIED A CONSIDERABLE PORTION OF ONE OF THE SESSIONS, THERE WAS NO SPECIFIC DISCUSSION OF THE FBS ISSUE.

(2) EUROPE

EUROPEAN ISSUES WERE GENERALLY REVIEWED IN ONE OF THE SESSIONS. THE SOVIETS DID MOST OF THE TALKING. DR. KISSINGER TOOK THE POSITION THAT ISSUES RELATING TO CSCE AND MBFR INVOLVED THE ALLIES AND SHOULD BE TAKEN UP IN THE EXISTING FORUMS (E. E. AT HELSINKI AND VIENNA). IT WAS ALSO NOTED THAT MR. BREZHNEV WAS SHORTLY TO VISIT THE FRG AND THIS WOULD PROVIDE HIM WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THESE MATTERS WITH CHANCELLOR BRANDT.

A. CSCE.

- THE SOVIETS REAFFIRMED THEIR OBJECTION TO INCLUDING THE POINT ABOUT MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS.

- THE SOVIETS STRESSED THEIR VIEW THAT THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS SHOULD BE LISTED FIRST AND SEPARATELY AMONG THE PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES;

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 097704

- THE SOVIETS EXPRESSED SOME SENSITIVITY ON THE HUMAN CONTACTS ISSUE, EXPRESSING THEIR FEAR THAT IT WAS BEING USED AS A PRETEXT FOR INTERFERENCE IN THEIR SYSTEM;

- THE SOVIETS SAID THAT THEIR VIEW OF A CONTINUING ORGAN WAS THAT IT WOULD FUNCTION AS A MECHANISM THAT MIGHT PREPARE A FUTURE CONFERENCE; BUT THAT IT WOULD NOT HAVE ANY FORMAL FUNCTIONS OR TAKE ANY DECISIONS. THEY SAID THEY HAD NO INTENTION FOR EXAMPLE OF PROPOSING SOME MAJORITY VOTING FORMULA. AS INDICATED ABOVE, KISSINGER NOTED ON ALL THESE MATTERS THAT THEY WERE UNDER CONSIDERATION IN HELSINKI. HE DID GIVE SUPPORT TO THE FRG'S POSITION ON THE MATTER OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS, AND INDICATED THAT THE US WILL BE DISPOSED TO SUPPORT WHATEVER FORMULA ON THIS QUESTION MAY BE SATISFACTORY TO OUR ALLIES.

IN GENERAL, THE SOVIETS TOOK THE POSITION THAT THEY WERE SATISFIED WITH THE PROGRESS OF THE PREPARATORY WORK AT THIS STAGE.

B. MBFR.

NEITHER THE PREPARATORY TALKS AT VIENNA NOR ANY POINT OF SUBSTANCE WAS DISCUSSED. THE SOVIETS DID HOWEVER PUT

FORWARD THE PROPOSITION THAT ACTUAL NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BEGIN ONE MONTH AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE. UPON QUESTIONING BY DR. KISSINGER THEY INDICATED THAT THEY MEANT BY THIS THE CONCLUSION OF ALL THREE STAGES OF THE CSCE. I AM ADVISED THAT DR. KISSINGER INDICATED THAT WHILE THAT MIGHT OR MIGHT NOT OCCUR BEFORE OCTOBER, HE WANTED IT UNDERSTOOD THAT THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS MUST IN ANY EVENT BEGIN NO LATER THAN THE END OF OCTOBER. THE SOVIETS INDICATED THAT IN THEIR VIEW THEY EXPECTED THE CSCE TO BE COMPLETE BY SEPTEMBER. THEY DID NOT HOWEVER SPECIFICALLY ACCEPT DR. KISSINGER'S POSITION AND THIS IS THEREFORE A MATTER THAT REMAINS OPEN AND SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ALLIES AND THE OTHER SIDE.

(3) GENERAL

DURING THE TALKS THERE WAS ALSO A REVIEW OF THE EXTENT AND MANNER IN WHICH THE PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS BETWEEN
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 097704

THE US AND USSR, ADOPTED LAST YEAR IN MOSCOW, HAD BEEN IMPLEMENTED SINCE THAT TIME. THERE WAS SOME DISCUSSION OF HOW THESE PRINCIPLES- ESPECIALLY THOSE BEAING ON THE AVOIDANCE OF MILITARY CONFRONTATIONS AND NUCLEAR CONFLICT AND ON ABSTENTION FROM ATTEMPTS BY ONE SIDE TO OBTAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGES AT THE EXPENSE OF THE OTHER- MIGHT BE FURTHER STRENGTHENED OVER TIME. THERE WAS A GENERAL ASSESSMENT IN THE TALKS THAT THESE PRINCIPLES HAD BEEN LIVED UP TO AND THAT IT WAS DESIRABLE TO CONTINUE TO ABIDE BY THEM AND TO DEEPEN THE COMMITMENT TO THAT TYPE OF CONDUCT.

(4) OTHER OBSERVATIONS

DR. KISSINGER FOUND HIS RECEPTION TO BE VERY WARM AND WAS IMPRESSED BY THE AMOUNT OF PERSONAL TIME THAT BREZHNEV DEVOTED TO THE TALKS. BREZHNEV SEEMED FIT AND VERY MUCH IN AUTHORITY. HE WAS OBVIOUSLY LOOKING FORWARD TO HIS IMPENDING TRIPS TO THE WEST- THE FRG AND THE US. ALTHOUGH GROMYKO PARTICIPATED QUITE ACTIVELY IN THE DISCUSSION, AND INDEED DID SO WITH PERHAPS ADDITIONAL ASSURANCE, BREZHNEV WAS CLEARLY IN COMMAND.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PFOR
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 22 MAY 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE097704
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: S/ S- O: JMEALUM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730560/abqcemoq.tel
Line Count: 210
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 16 JAN 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <16-Jan-2002 by boyleja>; APPROVED <26 FEB 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> mcm 980226
Subject: REPORT TO ALLIES ON BREZHNEV- KISSINGER DISCUSSIONS
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
To: BRASILIA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005